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ABSTRACT

A 1974 study surveyed the ethnic and multicultural content in prescribed elementary and secondary curricula used across Canada during the 1974-75 school year. Data sources were the documents for social studies, social science, and history programs published by the provincial and territorial departments of education; correspondence provided information on rationales, policy statements, and guidelines used for developing ethnic studies. Although Native Indian and Inuit were accorded highest visibility (particularly in elementary school), there was an overwhelming British and French cultural perspective within most curricula. Numerically significant groups (one quarter of Canada's population) such as the German, Italian, and Ukranian were conspicuously absent. At the elementary school level, notions of culture and ethnicity were generally defined as material things, with emphasis on the unique, static, and different. At the secondary level these notions were conceived historically as heritage. There was little emphasis upon cognitive culture or contemporary culture change. Curriculum developers appeared to be culturally monopolarized at times and there were virtually no suggestions for preservice or inservice training for the use or development of ethnic and multicultural studies. Because of possible consequences which images and stereotypes have for students, the underlying finding was a need for ethnic studies which are truly ethnic in name, content, and perspective. (EB)

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Walter Werner

Bryan Connors

Ted Aoki

Jorgen Dahlie

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WHOSE CULTURE? WHOSE HERITAGE?

Ethnicity Within Canadian Social Studies Curricula

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Faculty of Education
University of British Columbia
Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1W5
1977

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INTRODUCTION

Ethnicity is evidenced within social studies curricula simply because Social Studies is about people. It interprets their cultures and heritages, their histories and life-styles, and their beliefs and values within the Canadian mosaic. It is a market place not only for cross-cultural contacts, but also for shaping biases and stereotypes. As for the child who is of an ethnic minority, Social Studies is one more place where he meets the values and perspectives of the dominant culture. More importantly, he meets himself in the image of minorities presented to him within curricula. As navigators watch the bias of their instruments, so educators need to be aware of cultural bias in order to make corrections.

This book has grown out of a look at ethnic and multicultural content in prescribed elementary and secondary curricula used across Canada during the 1974-75 school year. We make no claims for the current status of ethnic studies, nor does it represent classroom activity in any part of Canada. Judgments, conclusions, and interpretations are inferential and are intended only to reflect a national status. It is not to be construed as picturing individual provinces or territories; nor is it a comparison of the stances taken by departments of education. Presented is a global and interpretative picture of patterns and trends within the curricula of social education. No value neutrality is claimed for the generalizations made in this book. It is biased. It is written from a particular perspective and represents only one interpretation of Social Studies programs. No doubt, interpretations which differ from the ones made here certainly are possible.

This is a summary of a larger report (Canadian Ethnic/Multicultural Content in Program Guides of Provincial and Territorial Departments of Education) submitted to the Canadian Ethnic Studies Advisory Committee (Department of the Secretary of State, Ottawa) in September of 1974.[1] That report was a survey of existing social studies curricula. Data sources were the

documents for social studies, social science, and history programs published by the provincial and territorial departments of education. Correspondence with these departments provided information on rationales, policy statements, and guidelines used for developing ethnic studies. Appreciation is extended to these departments for their correspondence and for supplying the curriculum documents. The cultural content in these documents was examined to determine the direction ethnic studies appeared to be taking at that time across Canada.

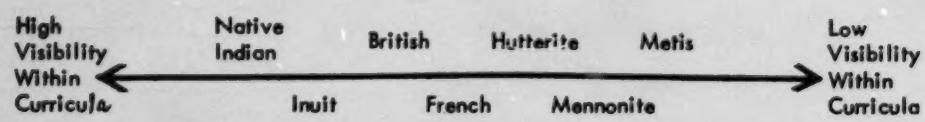
CHAPTER I

THE ETHNIC ELITES OF SOCIAL STUDIES

The Canadian ethnic mosaic is composed primarily of Native Indian, Inuit, British, and French, so it would appear from examining Social Studies programs in Canada. In their studies Canadian students are likely to encounter these four ethnic groups at more grade levels than any other.

Not reflected in the content and activities prescribed by most school programs are the diversity and relative numerical strength of various cultures across Canada.

Although changes are beginning to come about, there is no question that there still exist ethnic elites within Social Studies curricula.



Although the Native Indian and Inuit together comprise less than two percent of the Canadian population, they are accorded highest visibility within Social Studies. These two groups are listed in more provincial curricula and appear across more grade levels than do any other ethnics in Canada. In terms of cross-grade visibility, the British and French, the two dominant numerical and cultural ethnic groups in Canada, are given second place within curricula. They do, however, enjoy greater depth of coverage than the Native Indian and Inuit. On the whole, school programs reflect this dominant cultural perspective.

Aspects of Antiquity

Because of the largely historical emphasis in Social Studies programs, the image of these ethnic elites is of the past. Students are asked to do projects, sing songs, color pictures, write essays, construct models, and dramatize case studies which in the main portray the Inuit and Native Indian of a century ago. No different is the treatment of the French and British. For instance, contemporary Metis culture, social issues, and governmental relations are ignored for the most part in the majority of curricula. Where these people are mentioned, they are regarded in terms of rebels against the dominant cultural groups, or else in terms of one personality, that of Louis Riel, who is typically characterized in polarized terms as either a saint or foe, a patriot or rebel. Not encouraged is the examination of contemporary issues and relations within and between ethnic groups through the study of history, although linkage between history and the present is receiving increasing emphasis in the high school. At the high school level the value issues, problem questions, and topics for discussion do become more contemporary, and history becomes a way of understanding the present.

Across the Grades

Although Canadian students are introduced at many grade levels to aspects of Inuit and Indian life, the heaviest encounter with Native studies tends to be from grades three to six. It is even possible for a student to have this exposure over consecutive grade levels. As students move into the Secondary School there is, in general, an increasing amount of exposure to the British and French.

The greatest variety of ethnic groups introduced to students is at the grade four to six level, whereas the greatest depth of coverage occurs at the grade ten to twelve level. Qualitatively, this shift at the secondary level is from an emphasis upon explorers and pioneers to historical issues and political conflicts among groups.

Criteria for Visibility

Selectivity in ethnic studies appears to be discriminatory. Students seem to know much about the Inuit, but relatively nothing concerning the experience of a large number of minotiry groups. Such a situation raises certain questions for program developers. Where are the Germans and Italians in Social Studies programs? Why are the numerically speaking minor groups, the Native Indians, Inuit, Hutterites, Mennonites and Metis accorded more emphasis than the Ukrainians? Why have small groups been chosen to have a disproportionately large impact upon Canadian students? What principle of selection do program developers utilize in prescribing certain ethnics for study? Why are some groups chosen and others neglected?

Criteria for selecting minorities for study are not explicit in curricula.

It is difficult to know why.

One possible criterion is representation by population. The ethnic composition of the Canadian population can be divided into three groups relative to numbers. The largest group

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ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF CANADIAN POPULATION

Groups with over 20% each	Groups with 2–10% each		Groups with less than 2% each	
British	German	Dutch	Danish	West Indian
French	Italian	Polish	Russian	Romanian
	Ukrainian	Jewish	Finnish	Syrian
		Native Indian	Czech	Lebanese
		Norwegian	East Indian	Lithuanian
		Hungarian	Belgian	Slovak
		Greek	Austrian	Estonian
		Chinese	Japanese	Inuit
		Yugoslavic	Black	Latvian
		Swedish	Icelandic	All Others
		Portugese	Spanish	

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consists of the British and French, each representing more than twenty percent of the Canadian population. A middle group consists of the Germans, Italians, and Ukrainians, and the smallest group is composed of over thirty nationalities each comprising less than two percent of the population. One might expect that these groupings are reflected in Social Studies curricula in terms of relative emphasis and coverage. This is obviously not the case. "Rep by pop" in Social Studies curricula is a relevant criterion only for the British and French. Native Indian and Metis are discussed often in terms of historical contact and conflict with the British and French, and so become important by association.

Other minority groups seem to have been selected on the criteria of cultural visibility and perceived isolation from the dominant groups. They are isolable and visible on the basis of artifacts, dress, food, or religious ritual and, based on these, differences are stressed. By emphasizing the cultural distance between the dominant and minority groups, it becomes easy for teachers and students to objectify minority peoples, viewing them as peculiarities who stand apart from the mainstream of Canadian life. For example, one curriculum suggests to teachers that the study of Inuit lends itself to projects. Why? Because they represent far away places, such as 'Eskimo Land', and because there are different material things for students to draw and color.

Minority groups such as Hutterites, Doukhobor, Metis and Native Indians are often stereotyped and romanticized once they have been culturally isolated and made visible on the basis of cultural objects.

The emphasis upon the British, French, Native Indian, and Inuit that we have noted is often amplified by publisher bias and by the availability of resources of which curriculum developers are aware. Even where a curriculum allows for teacher choice of ethnic group to be studied, the choice may be directly affected by the commercial material available.

CHAPTER II

FROM SEA TO SEA

Differences in ethnic studies are evident when provincial and territorial curricula are compared. The degree of commitment and the approach taken toward ethnic studies, the interpretation of multiculturalism, the amount of energy expended in developing materials, and the role of ethnics in program development differ markedly. Some departments of education claim to have done quqte a bit of work in the area of cross-cultural studies, but as yet have not produced to any significant degree curriculum materials for publication and distribution. A few departments in Canada have not even embarked upon much work nor have they given high priority to this area. Where topics have been developed within curricula to focus explicitly on multiculturalism, the differing approaches reflect a diversity of interpretations of Canadian pluralism.

There is a range in terms of the number of ethnic groups mentioned within curricula. The number selected for study ranges from four to sixteen. Although the British, French, Inuit, and Native Indian remain the four basic groups studied throughout Canada, some departments of education are introducing to the curriculum four times as many ethnics as other departments. Why are there such differences among departments of education?

Linguistic Diversity

Those provinces and territories with the greatest percentage of languages other than English or French spoken as mother tongue tend to stress a greater number of ethnic groups within Social Studies curricula. Where there is an overwhelming English and French linguistic composition within a province or territory (over eighty-five percent), the curriculum tends toward the monocultural orientation of these dominant groups and manifests generally a neglect of ethnics who

are not Native Indian, Inuit, British or French. This is in contrast to those provinces and territories where over fifteen percent of the population speak languages other than English and French as mother tongue. Their curricula tend to stress more diversity of minority groups. For example, in the Northwest Territories linguistic diversity seems to be related to a concern for developing curricula which evidence cross-cultural understanding, community involvement, and linguistic equality. The greater the linguistic diversity, the greater the orientation towards multi-ethnic studies within social education.

Defining Social Education

There is also some correlation between the manner in which a department of education has defined social education and the number of ethnic groups introduced within curricula.

> As we move from Social Studies with a heritage emphasis to one emphasizing a social issues and interdisciplinary approach to cross-cultural studies, there is a tendency towards inclusion of a larger number of ethnics for study.

Who Should Choose?

Some curricula are open in the sense that they allow for various degrees of input at the classroom level from teacher, student, and community. Within those programs where the teacher is given some freedom to select not only methodology but content for study, there tends to be inclusion of a greater number of ethnic groups. For example, some departments of education leave open from one-fifth to one-third of the curricula, thereby allowing programs to reflect concerns of the community. The greater the flexibility to accommodate teacher choice and student interest, the greater the orientation towards cross-cultural studies.

CHAPTER III

THE ILLUSION OF NEUTRALITY

If we all wore the same blue colored spectacles, our observations would lead us to conclude that our world is blue. In a metaphorical sense each one of us has our own spectacles which color what we see. In this sense any view of an object remains a product of the perspective which we adopt. We obtain different profiles of the object when we see it from varying distances, angles, and elevations, when we see it under changing lighting effects, contextual conditions, and time periods, and when we see it through our selected interests, feelings, and experiences.

There is no such thing as neutrality concerning multiculturalism and ethnic pluralism within Social Studies.

Bias is inevitable because curriculum development is a social process. People have to write the program. Individuals and groups are involved in specifying goals, selecting materials for study, and defining activities to be carried out in classrooms. They are all born somewhere and are all influenced by the situations of their lives. Inevitably their expectations and beliefs are shaped by experiences within some social and geographical location and their own ethnic affiliations.

No one can approach Canadian multiculturalism with a blank mind, without presuppositions, with an interest-free stance, or with empty anticipations.

Each brings to Social Studies a viewpoint on what it means to be ethnic within a multicultural society. This perspective serves as a basis for developing and teaching Social Studies. Invariably any curriculum must reflect someone's point of view which embodies biases created by a set of

underlying values, beliefs, and experiences. At the same time this perspective will affect the student's observations, interpretations, and consequent actions within the Canadian mosaic.

Although most departments of education do express an interest in relating multiculturalism to schooling, the shape of this interest differs within curricula. The particular ethnic content selected, the emphasis and the slant given to it, and the time provided to issues of pluralism betray not only the relative importance given to ethnic studies by departments of education, but also, and more fundamentally, a conception and interpretation of what Canadian multiculturalism is.

Within Canadian curricula two general perspectives tend to predominate, the monocultural and the multicultural.

Monocultural Perspective

Most Social Studies curricula reflect an overwhelming monocultural orientation, that of the dominant British-French group. The ideal of equality, distinctiveness, mutual respect, and interaction between these two ethnic populations is certainly commendable. However, by initiating students to the British and the French perspectives on the Canadian experience, multiculturalism tends to be viewed as monoculturalism. Emphasis upon European cultural content to the exclusion of nearly all non-European influence within Canada is evident. Our society is shown to be derived from European traditions, art, literature, music, and personalities. Classical antiquity becomes exclusively that of the Greeks and Romans rather than that of the Chinese and West-coast Indians. The history of Britain and France overshadows all other histories. The boundaries and center of world geography are defined by the empires of these two groups. In this manner all students, regardless of their cultural backgrounds, are provided with the same cultural tradition and values. Homogeneity rather than diversity becomes the acceptable norm.

Minorities are interpreted in terms of the goals, values, and history of the dominant groups.

> Ethnic studies tend to become an examination of the 'problems' minorities encounter as they fit into the dominant cultural frame of reference.

Issues become defined in terms of assimilation, minority-majority relations, and conflict. Such an orientation obviously destroys any uniqueness which may adhere in the minority viewpoints. They are reduced to the artifacts of material culture for students to look at and to interpret or evaluate in terms of similarities and differences with the dominant culture.

A monocultural orientation makes curriculum developers selective in their interpreting of multiculturalism. This selectivity is ethnocentricity. For example, almost without exception within elementary school curricula the cultural bias toward the dominant ethnic groups is ascertained through the holidays regarded as most suitable for study. Emphasis is placed almost exclusively upon Easter, Christmas Day, St. Valentine's Day, Halloween, Hannukah, and Thanksgiving. No mention is made of non-European cultural and religious holidays which many Canadians may recognize. This Christian-Judaic religious bias of the dominant group is discriminatory against minorities because students are subtly taught that for all Canadians some holidays are more legitimate than others. Or to take another example, a stated objective for high school students may be that they formulate and clarify their own personal philosophical position on man, freedom, and values. They are to do this through comparisons of various philosophies. However, the content of the curriculum becomes ethnocentric because only prominent Western-European philosophies are provided for student examination. Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Pythagoras, Heraclitus, Xenophanes, Parmenides, Zeno, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Leucippus, Democratus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Russell, and Moore are considered to be legitimate alternatives. Contemporary non-Western ideas influential in

in Canadian Society appear to be ignored. Why? Does multiculturalism imply that our philosophical and religious roots are, or should be, the same? Although objectives within curricula may sound admirable, the underlying and hidden curricula may be ethnocentric. Ethnocentric selection within curricula implicitly reduces to homogeneity the diversity of life-styles, cultures, and philosophies which define multiculturalism.

Multicultural Perspective

Adoption of a policy of multiculturalism by the government of Canada reflects its concern that ethnic groups be recognized and that they be provided opportunities to participate in the definition of Canadianism. Underlying multiculturalism is a pluralistic notion of equality. Groups have the right to develop their own identities, life-styles, and languages, as well as to preserve their own cultural heritages, on a basis of equality with the British-French tradition. No one group should have cultural superiority. Each ethnic experience is recognized as being equally Canadian, and, therefore, a valuable and integral part of the total Canadian experience rather than as a "problem to overcome".

Heterogeneity is considered desirable, and harmony is possible within diversity.

And implied in this aim of heterogeneity and equality is mutual respect for different languages, reality views, conceptions of social issues, and an exchange of ideas.

Unity is not to be found in forcing homogeneity of cultural ideas and experiences, but in an understanding and acceptance of diversity.

When an individual is allowed to respect his own cultural background, the resulting security allows him to honor what is different in his neighbor. By reflecting upon his own ethnicity he

may come to understand that every Canadian is reared in some social group, and that he must live in some goegraphical and cultural milieu, from which his values are shaped and his perspectives are meaningful. A multicultural orientation transcends any one ethnic superiority and attitude by seeing that

> there are many avenues whereby Canadians can interpret their society as meaningful.

Illustrative of a multicultural perspective is the Social Studies curriculum of the Northwest Territories. Their multicultural orientation to social education is committed to using the cultural contexts served by the schools for determining in part the aims, content, and values within curriculum. This means that the primary world of the student - his language and ethnic experiences, as well as the issues and values of his community - are accepted and incorporated. The objective is to utilize the local diversity that exists, to build upon these various interpretive frameworks and learning styles, and thereby to avoid a negative self and ethnic image for students whose background is different from that of the dominant cultural group. There is no total imposition of the dominant cultural perspective upon him, nor is he forced to integrate and to adopt the mores and attitudes of other groups. Differences which the student may bring to the program are recognized, understood, and respected by the content, aims, and activities of that curriculum. As he sees that his own ethnic and linguistic background has equal worth with other backgrounds, and that he does not have to be like other groups, he can respect and operate within the mosaic of communities in the larger society. Once he is secure in this acceptance, a foundation has been established from which greater cross-cultural understanding can be developed.

Curricula with a multicultural orientation must have flexibility for local input. Rather than a central or one-goal system, program development must incorporate community goals

and concerns, on the principle that social education must be reflective of heterogeneous cultural goals. Encouragement should be provided for ethnic groups to define their own experience, both for themselves and for the larger part of society of which they are a part, by incorporating parental, student, and community involvement in the defining and controlling of curriculum development. The locus of power in curriculum development shifts then from one group to many groups. A pluralistic notion of equality in social education not only must stress respect for the diversity of ethnic experiences, but also must influence equality of access to program development for all groups. It is not just equality in terms of access to a single provincial or territorial program, but rather equality of access to power in defining the attitudes and perspectives expressed therein. This may well mean that the Social Studies curriculum within a province or territory should become multifaceted as it relates to and emerges from local linguistic concerns, values, and goals rather than from one centralized group of Social Studies experts.

Admittedly, there is little consensus on a single notion of multicultural social education among the various departments of education. Interpretations, as evidenced by curricula orientations, differ considerably. However, monocultural perspectives towards ethnic groups and multicultural issues tend to predominate. Where there is a multicultural orientation of some kind, there is a concern evidenced for equality of diversity within curricula.

CHAPTER IV

COLOR ME ETHNIC

What is the image of ethnic minorities within Social Studies programs? The majority of these programs have the orientation of the dominant cultural group. This monocultural perspective as a result casts a rather homogeneous image of minorities.

Marginal and Hyphenated Canadians

According to most Social Studies curricula, non-white groups play a minor role in Canadian history. Note how the movers of history have in the main British or French names. This means that linguistic and cultural minority groups are relegated to being marginal actors, hyphenated Canadians who have little importance in shaping Canada's character. Their significance comes insofar as they help (or hinder) the dominant white apostles of civilization spread their religion, further their trade routes, paddle their canoes, and build their railroads.

> Minorities are examined and interpreted largely as they relate negatively or positively to the expansion and history of the dominant group.

Thus, whether Native peoples are viewed as either "enemies" or "allies", or as either "saints" or "foes" depends on the aims of fur companies and settlers. Metis become notorious because of 'rebellion' against the majority culture. A description of the Iroquois as a 'menace' to New France not only provides students with the dominant group's point of view, but also with a value position on the Iroquois.

Where minorities are given a place in the study of Canadian history, they are typically interpreted in terms of "contributions" to the dominant society. They are mere contributors. A grade three student is asked to prepare a report on the contributions of some ethnic group to Canada, whereas a grade eight pupil is asked to list the contributions to Canada made by

French culture. Inevitably, students come to understand and appreciate the many worthy contributions made by marginal minority Canadians who have been or are presently being integrated into present-day Canadian life.

Not only are minority groups seen to contribute to the dominant society, in general they are also the "beneficiaries". The British and French are seen as the "benefactors" to such an extent that paternalism becomes evident within many Social Studies programs. In the first place, this paternalism is manifested by the stated desire to instil in minorities an appreciation of their own values and life-styles. For instance, students of Native ancestry are assisted to appreciate their own history and heritage, to be given a sense of pride in their own background and cultural values. It is interesting, though, that representatives of the ethnic groups are not brought into the school to assist in achieving this objective. The interpretation of their own culture which Native students are given is that of the dominant group. An outsider selects that with which the student is to be instilled.

This paternalism is also evident in the oft stated aim that schooling is to assist minorities to enter into the educational, social, and economic life of the dominant Canadian society. These marginal Canadians must be taught to 'cope' within the alien society, and this entails being given appropriate traits, social customs, and attitudes of the majority culture. For example, teachers may be admonished to have considerable patience and tact in dealing with the parents and students of a particular ethnic group, for the cultural differences are viewed as problems which need "to be appreciated and closely studied" in order to arrive at an understanding of the "basic causes" and "reasonable solutions". The problem is that it is impossible for certain grade one, two, and three pupils to have daily baths because they come from homes not equipped with modern plumbing. The solution is that the school must teach the value and practice of cleanliness. It is suggested that students be shown and constantly supervised in "the washing of face and hands", "the brushing of teeth regularly with inexpensive dentifrices such as salt or

baking soda", and "the blowing of noses with Kleenex". Further, stress is to be placed upon the beautification of the yard with flowers and trees, the growing of vegetables, the wise use of money, the care of the home through the use of screens and cleanliness, the washing of dishes, the sewing of buttons, the learning of acceptable eating manners, and the care of clothing not only at school but also at home. Why the beautification of the yard at home? And in whose aesthetic system? The underlying value system is that of the dominant white (and even middle class) culture. Ideas, skills, and attitudes acceptable to the majority group are to be stressed. Lines are clearly drawn between the "benefactors" and the "beneficiaries".

The difficulty with viewing minorities as marginal Canadians who have contributed, yet remain largely the "beneficiaries" of the dominant culture, is that one culture becomes the standard for social education, and all other groups are interpreted in terms of that culture's frame of reference. Subtly, Canadian ethnic diversity is placed within a hierarchy of cultures. Whenever a curriculum is developed within the perspective of one group alone, the implicit curriculum underlying the program is one of cultural superiority for one value framework and one history are used to define the Canadian experience and identity. Generally, this hierarchy remains taken-for-granted within programs. Yet there it is in the bias evident in what is selected and what is omitted for study.

Neglect of many minorities in Social Studies may provide students with a value framework concerning the nature of multiculturalism.

Some groups would appear to be important and other groups of little significance merely through the emphasis, the lack of emphasis, and the time accorded them. And life-styles, languages, and cultural experiences are treated equally only rarely, for the standard of judging worth and development is naturally the achievements and world view of the dominant society. Differences

may even be viewed as evidence of backwardness in relation to the dominant culture, rather than as evidences of different belief systems. For example, when viewed from the monocultural orientation of many programs, minorities are interpreted and evaluated in terms of their "becoming like us'. A grade three student may learn that the homes of Native Indians are becoming more and more like his, that they generally have electricity and water just like his does, and that dirt and disease are lessening as these people rediscover hygiene. And students representing the dominant culture are to appreciate and respect the contributions of the minorities and their attempts to integrate into the majority life-style.

The hidden curriculum underlying much of Canadian social education betrays multiculturalism within a hierarchy rather than an equality of cultures. This is evidenced in the image of minorities as marginal Canadians, as the contributors, as the beneficiaries of majority paternalism, and as those who are attempting to integrate into the mainstream life-style.

> For the minority group child, Social Studies may be a place where he learns insecurity in his own cultural background.

The Insiders and the Outsiders

> Images of minorities are generally from the dominant, and thereby the outsider's viewpoint.

Rarely are ethnic groups allowed to speak for themselves, to present the insider's point of view on issues which may affect them or the larger society in general, or to give their interpretations of Canadian history. Social and historical issues are examined primarily through the perspective of the program developer who typically ignores the values, attitudes and contexts of other groups. To ignore the variety of views involved in a particular issue or event is to understand only partially the event or issue. This does not seem to matter to many curriculum developers.

Minority viewpoints are not considered to be important. Stripped of their own history, interpretations, values and beliefs, minority peoples are reduced to artifacts for students to look at, to the frames of reference of the dominant group, and to the classification schemes and images imposed upon them.

Few programs encourage, or even provide room for students to define their own ethnic experience both for themselves and for other students. Personal ethnicity is often ignored. In those rare instances where their own cultural background is emphasized, students may be asked to write an essay on this background, to investigate the ethnic origins of families within the community, to interview members of various groups, and to reconstruct accounts of journeys from countries of origin to Canada. Activities which help students clarify their own values, biases, and feelings about their own ethnicity and that of other groups are not explicitly stated.

Further

> there is little instructional material suggested or provided which is written from the insider's point of view.

Most of the print resources appear to be an interpretation of ethnic experiences as perceived by outside non-group members. Few programs stress the use of first-person accounts, poetry, novels, film, and student involvement with materials which encourage cross-cultural communication and understanding within different communities. The implication for ethnic studies is obvious: what students study (as well as how they study it) is limited to the extent that a variety of teachable and quality resources are available for presenting both insider and outsider viewpoints. For example, at the present, Canadian history is told largely from the European point of view. That Canadian history begins in the fifteenth century when the Europeans were searching for routes to India, as well as white interpretations of Native Indian-white relations throughout subsequent history, are well known to Social Studies students. But non-white

interpretations of these interactions and relations are becoming available. There is a trend towards development of resource material by ethnic groups themselves.[1] Such activities are scattered across Canada and do involve co-actively communities, universities, and both the federal and provincial governments. To this time, however, the primary emphasis of this community directed activity which presents the insider's viewpoint has been related to Native Indian groups.

Surprisingly, the necessity of the insider's perspective in Social Studies is not stated explicitly within curricula. That the student's perception is dependent largely upon his own cultural context is so basic to social education that it appears to be taken for granted. Information about other peoples is previewed within the framework of his own cultural group. Unless shown otherwise, he will translate and interpret the perspectives of other groups within his own outsider's standpoint. He simply brings his own cultural values and experience to bear upon the situation.

> What appears to be lacking in Social Studies Curricula are explicit rationales and strategies to help the student as much as possible understand the insider's experience and view.

As students are allowed to encounter various cultural standpoints which make up the Canadian mosaic, they may begin to see that their own views are also to some extent culturally influenced. They have a mirror for making themselves aware of their own ethnicity, the ethnicity of others, and the difficult concept of ethnicity within Canadian multiculturalism.

In short, curricula often appear to be affectively sterile in their images of ethnics. The human element of ethnicity is lost if ethnic experiences are not portrayed in life and blood terms, and through the insider's viewpoint.

> The outsider's stance tends to reduce ethnic experience to a set of concepts which ignore the concepts and interests of the groups themselves.

Social Studies then becomes populated with labies, objects, generalizations, statistics, and problems apart from real people who feel, construct goals, have hopes and fears, and daily must live the Canadian mosaic.

Romanticized and Stereotyped Images

Simplistic and romanticized images of minorities are portrayed especially within elementary school curricula. Norwegian warriors are depicted as being daring and bold. Inuit are mainly friendly, intelligent, honest, and cheerful people who are slow to anger, who have little organization of time, who did what they had to when it suited them, who had no set meal hours, and who slept when they were tired. The explorers and settlers of New France had great courage, daring, imagination, and zeal in the face of hardships. A very dismal general store may be run by an old Chinese gentleman.

The Native Indian has been simplified and romanticized in stereotypes. For example, within a grade three curriculum some "little known facts" about Native Indian life are listed. Stated (in the present tense) is the 'fact' that they are not dirty, alcoholic, or lazy by nature. Other 'facts' (in the past tense) are that they had high standards of personal hygiene, they were very conscious of their personal appearance, women were respected and given often more authority than the men; they did not work for work's sake but did work hard and were capable of extreme endurance when there was work to be done; they were highly intelligent and ingenious in accommodating and modifying new ideas and materials to their needs; they had their own well organized social services to care for the needy and the aged; they were not alienated from society, and social maladjustments such as crime and delinquency were virtually unknown; they had tailored and well-made clothing; they had mental telepathy as a form of communication

because it was possible in a culture unhindered by materialism; they have generally been successfully integrated into present day society, and dirt and diseases are lessening as they are learning hygiene. And of course Native Indians have a much closer and knowledgeable relationship to nature than do other groups; they have admirable concepts of non-materialism, sharing, and cooperative activities, and their culture has a rich heritage in music, art, language, and legend. Many Indian children own very few manufactured toys, but find sticks, tin cans, stones, and old tires which are of little value to them and are readily replaceable; as he tires of his toy such as an old tire, he will leave it along the road for someone else to play with, for there is little individual ownership of toys.

In teaching about Native Indians, the Social Studies teacher should encourage a 'fair-minded view' by not centering attention on occasional examples of Indian cruelty. Teachers should help students reject mistaken ideas and learn new and correct ones; for example, only a few men ever wore huge feather head-bonnets, totem poles were used only by coastal Indians, and ten different language groups in Canada have their own different clothing, customs, and civilizations. Non-Indian students are to be taught to appreciate the bravery and courage of Natives, to have respect for their strides forward in adjusting to the changing environment, and are to remember the many worthy contributions made by Natives.

Besides being meaningless and isolated trivia, how are such generalizations about groups of people to be interpreted by students? Students sing songs about how "the big tall Indian" beats drums, walks around campfires, and tip-toes through the woods. They learn that where the Europeans and the Indians meet at Fort McMurray, the picture is one of the affluent oil worker living side by side with people on welfare. Such stereotyping neither teaches an honest cross-cultural understanding nor does it foster desirable social attitudes. Little attempt is made to see the world from the other's cultural perspective, and the very attempts to break stereotyping may themselves reinforce what the student already believes or may substitute one

stereotype for another. The irony of some curricula is that the aim to eliminate ethnic stereotyping is contradicted by the activities and content prescribed for pupils and teachers.

Stereotyped images tend also to be reductionist. The image of Native peoples tends not to be one of multiple linguistic groups, pluralistic cultures, and diverse life-styles. There is little attempt to differentiate among groups. Rather, they are lumped together and given homogeneous characteristics. For instance, students are allowed to draw and color images of Native Indians in terms of teepees, tomahawks, and feathers. Inuit live in igloos. Immigrants are depicted in global terms despite their vast and varied cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Comparisons and Conflicts

Ethnic groups are understood often by comparing them one with another, usually within a context of conflicts such as conquests, rebellions, cultural clashes, and tensions. Hutterite groups, for example are sometimes cast within a framework of assimilation, minority relations with the dominant group, and comparisons of their material culture with others. They are objectified and understood in terms of needs, characteristics, problems, and artifacts which differ from the majority culture. Or another tendency within this comparative framework is to confront students with either/or questions and forced choices. Riel is viewed as either a patriot or a rebel; Native peoples as either enemies or allies; the British conquest as either a blessing or a catastrophe; confederation as either unity or diversity; biculturalism as either a myth or a reality, tensions as either French-British or Quebec-Canada; history as a story of either British or French supremacy. Emphasis upon a good-bad, winner-loser, British-French, east-west, and rich-poor cultural polarization tends to obscure the multiple influences and causes, the richness of interaction among groups, and the complexity of linguistic and cultural questions which characterize Canadian history and issues. Such comparisons which stress differences and tensions within a two value system tend to neglect a multicultural focus. The focus is on ethnic clashes rather than on mosaic. There are the 'problems' of language, integration, unity,

employment, schooling, and land claims which the minorities seem to present to the majority group. This stress upon problems may well cause students to view ethnic groups as simply that:

Students come to view ethnic groups as problems.

Unfair comparisons are evident when the outsider's viewpoint is used to interpret ethnic experiences. When studying the Inuit world-view (embodied in their songs and stories) about the origin of man, walrus, seal, and the world, students may be told that these views are like the fairy tales with which they are acquainted. But is this a fair comparison? The connotation is that Inuit world-meaning and cosmology are on the same level as Grimm's book of tales. Further illustrations of unfair comparisons can be selected from statements about Native Indians. Students may be told that within Native religions many of the principles and ceremonies related to events such as birth, death, and marriage are comparable to those of Christianity. The accuracy of such a simplistic and generalized comparison can be questioned. Religion anywhere represents a web of interrelated beliefs, assumptions, goals, values, and logics which give meaning to events and ceremonies. This is why ceremonies may look alike, but have different meanings within different religious contexts. By glossing over the underlying cosmology and by ignoring the cultural meaning context, Social Studies educators can give meanings to ceremonies which may not be honest. Further, the very phrasing of a question may betray a monocultural perspective and invite unfair comparisons: Did Native Indians go to church? Did they go to school? Did they have nurses and doctors? The comparisons implied in the questions are culturally biased because they utilize categories of meaning characteristic of the dominant culture: church, school, doctors, and nurses. Rather than such simplistic

comparisons, students could be made aware that all groups must deal with basic questions of illness, meaning, and training, and that they have devised differing ways of explaining the world, of caring for the sick, of defining and understanding illness, and of initiating members into the group legitimized activities and ideas.

Ethnic images derived by simple comparisons of groups within Social Studies represents a cultural bias, as well as a questionable imposition of one's own values and interpretive schemes upon another culture. When a group is not viewed from its own context and belief system, but from that of the outsider, the resultant comparisons can be unfair, if not ridiculous.

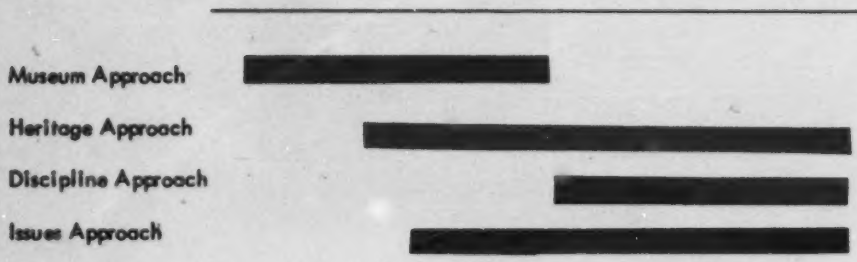
> Any monocultural orientation in social education is reductionist because it translates the other's viewpoint, entire system of thought, and cultural meanings into a foreign set of categories.

CHAPTER V

APPROACH TO PEOPLE

No curricula are designed to deal in depth only with multiculturalism and issues related to the Canadian mosaic. Cross-cultural topics are dealt with on a limited basis. Underlying these topics are particular approaches for understanding people and for organizing ethnic studies.

APPROACHES TO ORGANIZING ETHNIC STUDIES



The approach used for organizing ethnic studies is important, for in accordance with it content is selected and structured, and what teachers and students do within classrooms is influenced in part by it.

The approaches used in social education for understanding people are not neutral. They convey values and assumptions, and may contribute to the development of the student's attitude towards ethnic groups and issues.

An Ethnic Museum

Many programs have units or topics of study which may well be described as "A Student's Manual to the Canadian National Ethnic Museum." Student understanding of ethnic groups and issues is organized around artifacts and interesting 'facts', through which he is taken as a tourist and immersed within a cultural smorgasbord of things and anecdotes. He colors teepees, draws igloos, eats curried rice, makes models of villages, bakes Hutterite bread, and listens to ethnic songs. The student learns isolated details about how a minority group lives, random lists of dress and food, and highly visible objects of some culture. Unfortunately this tends to make objects of people, to focus upon the material aspects of culture, to emphasize trivial differences among groups, and to perpetuate stereotypes. Most important, this approach to people tends to ignore the conceptual understandings, issues, and cultural meanings which underlie the objects students look at.

> The Museum approach is strongest within curricula for grades one to seven and is popular with departments of education.

It tends to predominate where there is no stated rationale within curricula for teaching about multiculturalism, and where the orientation is monocultural. Since this approach becomes often the pupil's first exposure within school to ethnic groups, it may well be the most undesirable for fostering cross-cultural understanding. Its effects upon student attitudes, its perpetuation of stereotypes, and its neglect of conceptual understanding of the Canadian mosaic all need to be considered.

Our European Heritage

The heritage approach emphasizes the historical Anglo-French roots of the dominant culture. Certain institutions, personalities, places, and values tend to be romanticized, and culture is defined in terms of a static view of traditions and the past.

A heritage approach tends to be ethnocentric and paternalistic.

If non-European groups are mentioned, the emphasis is upon what the dominant heritage has done for them, whether via missionaries, the fur trade, law and order, or the amenities of civilization. And different heritages are implicitly ordered hierarchically by the amount of time and depth accorded to them in curricula. In pursuing a topic such as "A British subject I was born", a student must define his heritage from a monocultural orientation; it is the British and French heritages which are made important to Canadian life, regardless of who the student is. A Canadian history course which starts with British geography and traditions alone, without even a mention of other possible sources, presents an explicit bias of what is Canadian and of whose cultural heritage should be the norm. Other minority groups are the contributors and beneficiaries of the unquestioned heritage.

Although the heritage approach is used in varying degree by most departments of education, it appears to be the counterpart of the museum approach. Whereas younger students are to define ethnicity through artifacts and stereotypes, older students are enculturated with a romantic and ethnocentric heritage.

Discipline Views of Society

A common approach to ethnic studies from grades seven to thirteen is via a history framework (not heritage) or through social science disciplines offered as regular or optional courses

for students. Understanding of multicultural issues is obtained within the concepts, generalizations, methods, and organization of history and the social sciences. Indeed, a treatment of such issues is restricted by the conceptual and inquiry framework of the disciplines.

> Whereas history curricula tend to concentrate upon the British and French factor, the introduction of such courses as anthropology, sociology, and psychology has led to the examination of a wider range of minorities.

This would suggest that the trend towards disciplinary electives at the secondary school level offers promise for increased multicultural learning activities. Unfortunately, though, the people studied most often are the highly visible groups.

> The discipline approach tends to place the student in a detached relationship to ethnicity. He is encouraged to objectify various groups under social science labels (e.g., integrated, acculturated, assimilated, alienated, adapted), to look at groups as if they were objects in a laboratory, and to obscure the life goals, attitudes, and interpretations which group members have of themselves.

Multicultural issues are thereby made safe emotionally. Personal ethnicity is neutralized in favour of theoretical considerations. As an example, the stated objectives of a geography curriculum may be to develop positive attitudes in relation to the inter-dependence of peoples, to develop respect for similarities and differences of peoples, and to clarify values regarding other value systems. However, the curriculum does not make it clear how mapping the spatial distribution of ethnic groups is to fulfill the affective objective of respect and value clarification. It is assumed that this will somehow take place by using the discipline mode of inquiry and conceptual framework.

One of the obvious strengths of this approach is the conceptual breadth and depth brought to ethnic studies. Although at present none of these curricula are developed primarily around the concept of multiculturalism, they do deal with it at the topic level with far greater sophistication than do the museum and heritage approaches. For instance, an anthropology or sociology curriculum's objective to provide students with a better understanding of their own society and culture is carried out systematically within a well defined conceptual and inquiry framework. Patterns of ethnic relations are developed through such notions as annihilation, expulsion, partition, segregation, discrimination, integration, pluralism, amalgamation, submissive manipulation, marginal adaptation, withdrawal, oppression, nativism, violence, reform, group self-hatred, coercive and enacted change, and community behaviour. Unless the teacher has the theoretical background to make sense of these notions, the discipline approach to minority groups may become a conceptual jungle of isolated terminology for students to write in their notebooks.

Interdisciplinary Issues

An interdisciplinary issues (problems and values) approach to multiculturalism is associated usually with a Social Studies rather than a social science view of social education. Such studies begin from a contemporary topic or value problem facing Canadian society. History, geography, and the other social sciences are then drawn upon for appropriate concepts, methods, and understandings which are relevant to the topic. The student is encouraged to consider alternative actions and possible consequences, to make value decisions, and to take a stand on multicultural issues. For example, after researching a question concerning what problems face Native peoples today, he is then asked not only to suggest possible solutions, but whether there is anything he can do personally. He is asked to clarify his own value position on what

it means to be a Canadian, whether Canada should be a melting pot or a cultural mosaic, whether Canada should strive to be a multilingual, bilingual, or unilingual nation, or whether Canada should cultivate explicitly a unique 'Canadian culture'.

It would appear that this interdisciplinary issues approach to ethnic studies requires students to think about the conflicting interpretations, contemporary values, and trends underlying multiculturalism. Rather than just drawing maps, coloring pictures of ethnics, and generally stereotyping some highly visible group, the student is required to apply the social sciences to social problems, to have an understanding of history (and even an appreciation of heritage) underlying social issues, and to make decisions on problems which have contemporary political import. Values clarification is one way to get at a greater understanding of bias, to clarify attitudes to personal ethnicity, and to encourage decision making on political issues. There is a danger, however, that a student may come to view minorities as simply problems to which social solutions need to be found.

CHAPTER VI

CONCEPTUALLY SPEAKING

Attempts to characterize the conceptual status of ethnic studies within Canadian social education must be tempered with caution, to say the least. So much depends upon what teachers do with curricula in classrooms. And yet curricula does provide teachers with conceptual frameworks which influence in large part what students think about, as well as the depth and kind of thinking they engage in. These conceptual frameworks differ markedly among Social Studies documents. Since the type and range of concepts utilized within programs are the basis for any understanding of multiculturalism, they need to be examined seriously by program developers.

Tools for Thinking

Social Studies curricula provide us with 'tools' for thinking about multiculturalism. These tools are the concepts with which we classify our social environment. As these tools change in their quality and range, so do the types of discriminations we are able to make in our thinking about things. Our universe of thought is structured by the stock of ideas, labels and categories we have at hand.

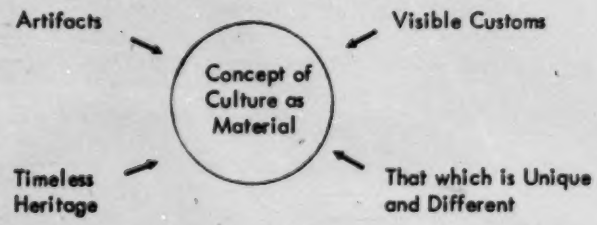
Basic to our thinking about multiculturalism are the concepts of culture, language, and change. How we interpret the Canadian mosaic depends in part upon our conceptions of what is culture, as well as our ideas about how culture is related to language and to change. As such, the particular understanding of these notions implicit within curricula will influence the student's emerging definition concerning the nature of a multicultural society, and even his attitude towards minority groups. Examination of the objectives and content prescribed within

programs underscore the fact that there is no uniform understanding of these notions within social education.

Although the term 'culture' occurs frequently when ethnic issues are discussed, its meaning is taken for granted within many programs.

Three general notions of culture can be identified within the resource materials and the activities provided to students: culture as material, culture as heritage, culture as cognitive.

First, many programs convey culture as material. It is a collection of objects, visible rituals, and concrete things. The emphasis is upon customs and artifacts apart from their meaning within the context of a world-view and group experience. Students collect isolated information on food, clothing, shelter, and transportation, draw teepees, learn Indian dances and songs, construct models of Indian houses and Inuit camps, dramatize a day in 'Eskimo Land', carve and weave, and paint murals. Such activities are done with the objective of developing desirable



attitudes towards members and groups within the student's society. This view of culture contributes little to an understanding of multiculturalism; rather, it fosters a romanticized and paternal attitude towards others, making them people with unique customs, different artifacts, and even quaint ways. As a tourist the student is led through a 'Disney world' of strange

color, things, and actors. He is free to create stereotypes on the basis of dress, food, and other visible things through which he can objectify a group of people. Little attempt is made to understand these material things in terms of the belief systems which imbue artifacts with their particular cultural meaning. Little attempt is made to see the world from another cultural perspective. For example, a question can be asked concerning the value of having students carve or weave without understanding also the meaning of this art within its larger cultural framework. Why make lists of customs merely in terms of what people do? Why draw houses and learn songs? If these are not interpreted as being meaningful to people because of the values they hold and their system of thought, then students are encouraged to misrepresent culture and to negate meaning. Once this happens, nothing is left except to observe groups as objects, to learn isolated facts about things, and to collect information and make lists about that which is unique and different to the student. This material concept of culture is especially strong in grades one to six, and tends generally to be associated with curricula displaying a monocultural perspective and a museum approach to people.

Second, some programs convey culture as heritage. The emphasis is upon material things, values, people, and ideas of the past. Students are given the impression that our culture is something which is static and traditional rather than contemporary and changing. For example, "life in New France" may be stressed to the exclusion of life in present-day Vancouver or Montreal. This concept of culture tends to be associated in curricula with a monocultural perspective.

Third, few curricula convey culture as cognitive. This is a view of culture as a group's shared rule and belief systems, a world-view, a range of values and attitudes, a way of thinking, a perception of life, a set of myths and ideals implicit within the material culture and reflected in language. It is the total context developed over time through which a group

collectively approaches and interprets their world. Instead of just viewing objects, students understand that changing beliefs and values give objects their significance and create diversity within Canada.

The developing Canadian mosaic is seen as a reflection of the cognitive worlds of various cultural groups.

Culture changes as groups borrow and exchange ideas continuously within this mosaic. As such, ways of living differently within Canada are not necessarily better or worse, but different because of varying social, geographic, and historical contexts. A few curricula do make explicit to teachers and students that this view of culture is preferable for social education. These programs tend to stress an interdisciplinary and issues approach to ethnic studies, as well as a multicultural perspective.

It is within programs which emphasize this third meaning of culture that the concepts of language and change tend also to be stressed. How a multilinguistic society is to be related to

multicultural education is a difficult question. If language and culture are related integrally, then a program which purports to take multiculturalism seriously cannot ignore the mother tongue of the student. His cultural expression within social education must be related to his capacity to use, and to identify himself with his own language. As such, the development of curricula should be based upon linguistic equality and recognition of the student's natural way of thinking and of experiencing the world. A few departments of education are developing multilingual curricula, or else allowing for linguistic diversity within existing programs.

When cultural change is discussed within curricula, it is done primarily through cross-group comparisons or through longitudinal comparisons of a group with itself over time. Cross-group comparisons show change by comparing two cultures in terms of their contacts with one another and the mutual effects upon each. Illustrative of this change is what happened to the Native peoples upon initial contact with the dominant white culture. Usually, though, the study of change-effect is one way, with the minorities being examined in terms of their integration, acculturation, and cultural diffusion to the present day. Students may be left with the idea that cultural changes have taken place only for the non-dominant groups. Cultural change is also shown by comparing one group longitudinally through time with itself in order to determine what differences have occurred. For example, a means of transportation for some group may be studied as it was at a particular historical period and as it is at present; the changes in transportation are related to a notion of cultural change. Or students may construct a chart depicting the tools which an Inuit mother would use to prepare food. This chart would then be compared with another chart depicting the tools which an Inuit grandmother would have used. The amount of change seen for the Inuit is then compared to the amount of change in the student's own family. Often this longitudinal study of change is very vague, for students may be asked to determine changes which are taking place in Inuit life in general, or to compare Native

Indians as they were with what they are at present. Most often the mechanisms, agents, and controls of change operative within Canadian multiculturalism are ignored, as are social issues and problems which arise out of change. Study of future trends and possible alternatives are lacking.

> For those curricula which do not emphasize multiculturalism as an ever-shifting pattern of values and life-styles, the implication for students is that culture is static and timeless.

This may then lead to an idealized and romanticized portrayal of past eras, values and achievements.

Breadth of Thinking

The range of concepts applicable to ethnic studies varies considerably among curricula. When the objectives and the generalizations of these programs are examined for their conceptual content, it becomes evident that there are certain concepts which are characteristically used for thinking about multicultural issues. The following three lists categorize selected concepts according to their range of use across the grade levels and by the various departments of education.

SELECTED CONCEPTS RELATED TO CULTURE USED WITHIN CURRICULA

Greater Use Across Grade Levels and by Departments of Education ⟷ Lesser Use Across Grade Levels and by Departments of Education

List One	List Two	List Three
	Integration	Stereotyping
Cultural Artifacts	Cultural Universals	Religion
Cultural Contrast	Cultural Contact	Language
Cultural Conflict	Race	Ethnocentricity
Cultural Heritage	Assimilation	Prejudice
Cultural Tradition	Acculturation	Empathy
Cultural Customs	Mosaic	Paternalism
Cultural Traits	Adjustment	Cultural Bias
Cultural Contributions	Minority	Cultural Unity
	Accommodation	Value Systems
	Biculturalism	Belief Systems
	Immigration	Cultural Diversity
	Melting Pot	Cultural Rules
	Problems	Personal Ethnicity
		Insider's Viewpoint
		Mutual Influence
		Life-styles
		Multicultural
		Cultural Distinctiveness
		Cultural Adaptation
		Cultural Diffusion
		Cultural Continuity
		Cultural Patterns
		Cultural Change
		Linguistics
		World-view Perception
		Rule System
		Communication
		Symbols
		Myth

List One are terms which appear within the widest range of curricula and across the most grade levels. They are the primary conceptual tools supplied to students for thinking about multicultural themes. The majority of departments of education stress these ideas as the basic frame of reference for ethnic studies. What is disturbing is that these concepts tend often to support the museum and heritage approaches, a material view of culture, and a monocultural perspective.

List Two occurs a little less frequently within curricula than does the first list, and is emphasized primarily at the secondary school level. Although used in such issues as whether Canada should be a melting pot or a cultural mosaic, these concepts tend sometimes within curricula to support an integrative process, stressing homogeneity, and a bicultural perspective. The meaning of a mosaic seems often to be unclear in terms of its distinction from a melting pot.

List Three enjoys the least coverage and frequency of use across the grades and across the provinces and territories, even though it would appear to represent within curricula a more multicultural conceptual framework. These terms are used in the issues and social science approaches for examining diversity, attitudes and biases, and culture as cognitive, rather than the material objects and heritage of a group (List One) and the process of integration (List Two).

Naturally, there is a wide conceptual range evidenced both qualitatively and quantitatively when the curricula of various departments of education are compared. Most stress List One, but relatively few curricula introduce the majority of concepts from all three lists. This means that some Canadian students are provided with a broader conceptual framework for thinking about multiculturalism than are other pupils. Their bases for interpreting Canadian society differ considerably.

Levels of Thinking

Questions posed within curricula direct students to think in differing ways about multiculturalism. Emphasis is for the most part upon literal level questioning. Students are asked to research the what, who, where, and when of cultural topics. Less frequently are they asked to analyze the why and how of these topics, to synthesize and apply alternatives, to creatively hypothesize, or to evaluate. Critical and interpretive thinking are absent from most programs. Critical understanding of ideology, not to mention skills for identifying and clarifying ideological positions of various cultural groups, are lacking. It could be expected that within a multicultural society, embracing so many interest groups and belief positions, the teaching of critical and interpretive skills would be a primary objective of social education. Apparently it is not.

In those curricula where conceptual issues underlying a policy of multiculturalism are examined to some extent, the majority of the issues remain designative. They tend to be concerned with the 'what is' without also looking explicitly at 'what should be' and 'what should be done' about issues. To illustrate, a student may find reasons for cross-cultural conflict, isolate reasons for prejudice, find out how we form stereotypes, or define the effect of urbanization upon Native peoples. He is called upon to present the 'facts', although he is not necessarily called upon to evaluate his findings and to clarify his own value judgments. Rather, it is either hoped (or else taken for granted by program developers) that a student may come to see how pervasive ethnocentricism is in every day life, that he too has his own biases and prejudices, and that he will make explicit his own value position and take a stand on it.

CHAPTER VII

THE WHY OF ETHNIC STUDIES

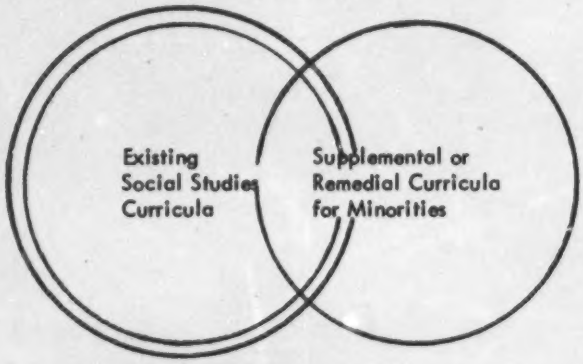
A desirable objective of social education within a society like Canada might well be a deeper understanding of ethnic pluralism and a tolerance for diverse life-styles. Departments of education could be expected to formulate clearly rationales for relating schooling to the multicultural status of our country. As evidenced by the provincial curricula we examined, this is not the case in general. Apart from the Northwest Territories, there was little evidence of explicit rationales on ethnic studies within Social Studies curricula. Why students should study the ethnic mosaic, what they should know or be able to do about it, or how the topic should be approached are questions which are justified rarely. Either rationales are in developmental stages, or else they are not of particular interest to most departments of education.

The general lack of explicitly stated rationales leaves serious questions unanswered concerning how Social Studies educators are to define the relationship between multiculturalism and schooling. What is multiculturalism within social education? What are the relationships between national policies of multiculturalism and the goals of departments of education? How are the interests and relevances of ethnic groups related to curricula? Why should Social Studies reflect the diversity of Canadian pluralism? What should the role of local community personnel be in program development?

What rationale is in evidence are of three types. The first two are explicitly stated within some curricula, whereas the third tends to be alluded to in general and ambiguous statements concerning multiculturalism.

1. Rationale for Increasing Integration

There appears to be a trend towards supplemental programs, primarily for Native Indians, Metis, and Inuit, and secondarily for minority French groups. Supplemental is here used in the sense of an extension to the existing regular programs designed primarily for the majority. Some minority groups are thereby accorded special status on the assumption that they need remedial treatment. In-service activities and curriculum materials are developed specifically in the hope that these will improve the schooling of minorities.

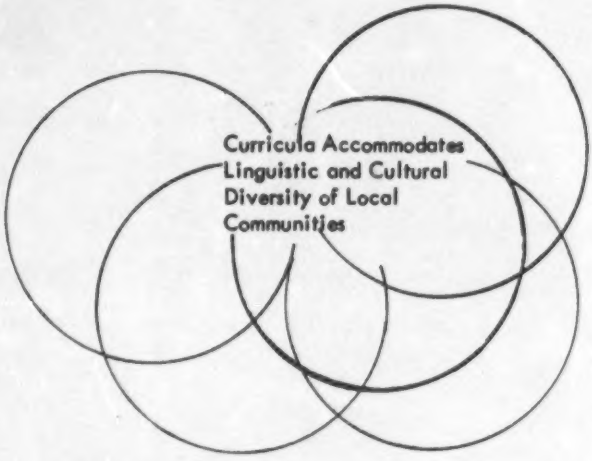


When supplemental or remedial programs are designed for Native students, the rationale is, in some cases, explicitly that of integration. In these cases educators are to assist students to overcome the difficulties they face when attempting to enter the economic, social, and political life of the majority society. Education is viewed as the most effective means through which minorities can be integrated into the dominant life-style. The underlying premise of such curricula is that students must enter the economic mainstream of Canadian society. They have no choice. To be isolated from this majority society leaves students at a disadvantage economically. And in order to cope successfully with employment, they need to understand and adopt the values, customs, and attitudes of the larger group within which they must live and work. Having thus defined the problem of the minorities as integration,

curriculum developers can justify supplemental Social Studies programs. Though this view of integration may be a goal of the department of education, little evidence is provided within the curricula that this is necessarily defined as a goal, or even a problem, by the minorities themselves. At face value, therefore, such programs appear rather paternalistic. A relation of multiculturalism to social education is interpreted as increasing homogeneity of skills and values deemed necessary by program developers for economic viability. Becoming like the majority culture is equated with economic security, and difficulties facing minority groups are rectified to the degree that integration successfully occurs.

2. Rationale for Maintaining Diversity

A contrasting rationale is found in the curriculum of the Northwest Territories which clearly states the relation of schooling to multiculturalism for all the subjects and grade levels. According to this rationale, social education is not to deny any student his ethnic self-worth, nor is it to be construed by the student as a turning aside from his people. He is not expected to interpret his cultural world-view and values as inferior to other groups, nor is he expected to embrace the dominant British-French history and perspective as his own. Pride in his own historical background, cultural traditions, and linguistic community are to be respected.

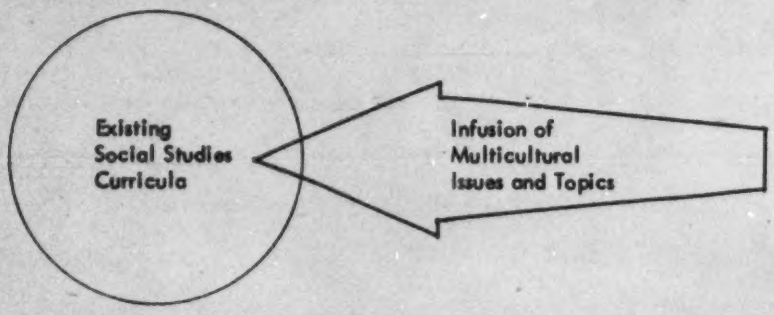


To accomplish such goals, curricula have been developed on stated premises concerning the role of minorities within the larger mosaic, the role of language in schooling, the role of local community needs and interests in program development, and the anticipated difficulties related to assimilatory pressures students will encounter within schooling situations. Recognition of Canadian diversity implies that curricula must reflect equality in the emphasis and the time accorded to the study of various cultures and groups. Certain peoples and histories are not more important, and therefore deserving of more emphasis and time. There is no hierarchy of cultural backgrounds. Token and supplemental approaches to minorities are rejected, and aspects of local culture and history are not introduced into the program for a few minutes each week. Rather, curricula are developed from multicultural and multilingual perspectives, and are committed to equality, heterogeneity, and a broad base of community involvement. Such programs are not so much about multiculturalism, but rather are cross-cultural in their orientations, concepts, resources, and activities. Schooling is multicultural in outlook, emphasis, and content. This represents an explicit interpretation of what multiculturalism is in relation to education.

3. Rationale for Encouraging Awareness

Increasing visibility for ethnic issues appears to be a trend for many departments of education. The Social Studies are beginning to place more stress on education about minority groups - especially information about Native peoples - than has been placed there in the past. Concern is expressed for eliminating stereotyping within curricula and for updating materials and resources. Although its impact is just beginning to be felt, legislation and regulations with respect to second language education has stimulated in some measure this increased concern for larger questions related to ethnic studies and minority rights. Sometimes this concern is focussed on improving the situation for minorities, rather than making

the existing programs designed for the majority culture more multicultural in outlook.



Where departments of education have stated commitments to increasing ethnic and multicultural studies, the trend in program development appears to be the compensating of existing programs with ethnic units or issues. Attempts are made to incorporate ethnic content and objectives for increased awareness of multiculturalism in existing courses of studies, and not by creating additional separate courses and subjects. For example, extra units of study may be predefined and prescribed for some grade level, ethnic groups and issues may be suggested, multicultural resources and concepts may be listed, or bibliographies may be provided for teachers and students. The objective in expanding and improving existing programs is to make students more aware of pluralism and diversity within Canada.

However, infusion into existing programs does not imply necessarily that new rationales and orientations are being developed. These additive activities may detract from the rethinking which departments of education may need to direct to what multiculturalism means for social education. In some cases, it would appear that the perspective of present curricula needs to occasion a shift rather than merely incorporating additional ethnic content to a conceptual framework which mitigates against pluralism. A reorganization of existing curricula may be required rather than a supplementing of them with a compensating bias in an attempt to ameliorate previously neglected elements.

4. A General Lack of Rationales

It may be surprising that some Social Studies programs neither have explicitly stated rationales on multiculturalism (whether for integration, diversity, or awareness) nor display much evidence in the prescribed content and goals of even an implicit rationale. In such cases, the notion of multiculturalism does not appear to be an important organizing idea for the study of Canadian society. The idea is not a starting point for defining what social education should be or do.

Whereas some curricula seem to be based upon an implicit assumption that ethnic groups should be studied, there is little explanation as to why or how this is to be done. General aims are stated concerning an appreciation of heritage, an understanding of contributions, and a development of some respect for minorities. Aims related to 'appreciation' and 'understanding' tend to be expressed rather vaguely and with considerable ambiguity. For example, a curriculum may state that students should grasp the diversity and versatility of mankind in order that students may become more sensitive to the spiritual and material aspects of their own majority ethnic group. Little indication is given as to how or why this is to occur in the classroom, nor do the content and activities of the curriculum relate to the student's own ethnicity within a multicultural society. Further, the appreciation which is to occur is usually from the dominant perspective. Thus a grade three student is taught to appreciate the bravery and courage of Native Indians, to respect their adjustments and worthy contributions. And minorities are to be instilled with an appreciation of their own values, a pride in their own heritage, and interpretation of their own history.

Associated with a lack of explicit rationale is a random approach to ethnic studies. Guidelines are not evident as to why certain minorities are selected and emphasized, or why

certain issues are of concern. Small and visible groups are stressed and made objects of study, their cultures are viewed as if they were static and material, and the past is emphasized in terms of tradition or heritage. Such programs remain biased toward monocultural perspectives. The selectivity of ethnic content is related at times to subtle stereotypes. It would seem that some departments of education need to define what Canadian multiculturalism means and what its relation to schooling should be. Explicit rationales are the starting point for ethnic studies.

CHAPTER VIII

A MATTER OF POWER AND CONTROL

Curriculum development is a political act.

Those groups (whether ethnic, occupational, or special interest) who have access to program development have power to define social reality and to impose these definitions upon other groups. This means that certain individuals and groups have the power to control the thinking of students and teachers by shaping conceptions of the society in which they live. In this way program developers become the gate-keepers of reality definitions. They select, classify, and evaluate viewpoints and knowledge for inclusion within programs. Certain perspectives are legitimized to the exclusion of other points of view. Such gate-keeping represents an unequal distribution of power among groups within schooling contexts because everyone does not have equal power to control the content of curricula and in part the attitudes and activities of students.

Social Studies curricula transmit and distribute selected interpretations of ethnic groups and social issues. Implications of this power and control for social education are not simple within a pluralistic society such as Canada. Though schools are in general a meeting place of diverse ethnic experiences and views on social issues, it appears that the experiences and views of only certain ethnic groups are selected and transmitted within programs. The exclusion of many minorities is evident and the very choice of groups to be studied does not reflect the character of Canadian multiculturalism. Coverage of Native Indians, Inuit, and small yet visible minorities as the Hutterite or Doukhobor, is done from the point of view of the British

and French majority. Numerically significant groups are conspicuously absent, and a host of minorities are neglected totally. Majority views and experiences are established as the legitimate interpretations of Canadian History and issues.

This distribution of power among ethnic groups can be traced to the particular models of curriculum development used within the provinces and territories. These models can be differentiated on the basis of who has the power to make decisions in Social Studies program development.

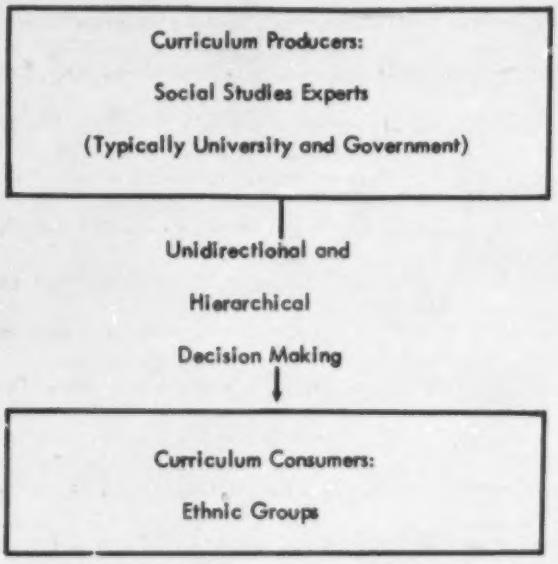
MODELS OF CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

	Minorities as Consumers	Minorities as Advisors	Minorities as Co-Producers
Locus of Power in Decision Making	Curriculum Experts	Curriculum Experts	Shared with Experts and Various Groups
Direction of Control in Decision Making	Unidirectional and Hierarchical	Unidirectional and Hierarchical	Mutual and Horizontal
Role of Ethnics in Decision Making	Consumers	Advisors; Ad Hoc Committees; Consumers	Co-Producers; Broad Base at Grass-roots
Major Concern in Decision Making	Efficiency; Maintenance of Power and Control	Legitimization of Decisions	Curricula which Have Meaning in Local Situations

Minorities as Consumers

The locus of power in decision making rests with the Social Studies expert, usually defined by his governmental or university affiliation. These curriculum experts select and order the goals, content, and activities which they consider relevant to ethnic studies. Power is not shared with teachers, students, community, or minority groups. As a consequence, Social Studies programs are developed "outside", apart from the concerns and interests of local

situations, and are handed down as products to consumers in a unidirectional and an hierarchical fashion. Decision making moves from the top downwards, with the ethnic groups under study having little control over what is studied about them, how it is studied, and from whose point of view. The legitimate frame of reference used in social education is defined by the experts alone.



A major interest underlying this model is efficiency in decision making and control of the knowledge and perspectives students are to be given concerning ethnic groups and issues. Images and conclusions concerning ethnicity are unidirectionally shaped for and transmitted to the student and teacher, who in turn are expected to legitimate these values and interpretations. They are not encouraged to encounter actively various ethnic groups apart from the curriculum, to find out how minorities interpret Canadian issues, to test ideas and stereotypes about groups, or to follow up particular interests related to community affairs. It is the curriculum which dispenses the proper information about multiculturalism and the legitimate

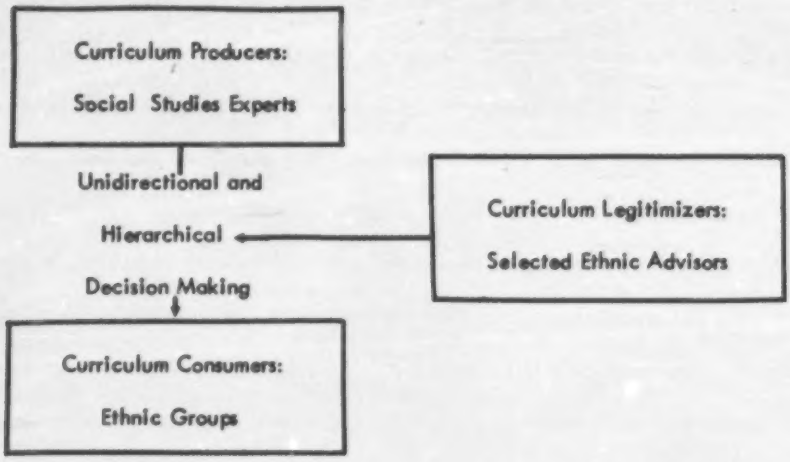
images about ethnics for the student and for his community.

Of the curricula examined, all except that of the Northwest Territories and, to some extent, Manitoba, appear to have been developed in varying degree on this model. This producer-consumer approach is especially evident in those programs which tend to have a strong monocultural orientation. Information about minorities is cast within the dominant history, values, and interpretation of the world, thereby making other groups marginal or hyphenated Canadians. Such curricula may lack relevance and honesty for students, teachers, and community members who do not represent the dominant culture. Images and knowledge trasmitted to them may not reflect their own ethnic experiences and views; the relationship between curriculum experts and community is such that the goals and reality of the expert are placed upon all for whom the curriculum is designed. The result is cultural homogeneity. The hidden curriculum is integrative, moving the program consumers toward the values, biases, and life-styles represented and interpreted by the program developer. Those groups who are not represented in the monocultural stance of the curriculum may come to distrust and suspect the design and purpose of the curriculum expert. The only way that diverse groups can enhance their particular interests and goals within curricula is to gain and maintain power within program development. This fosters competition and not harmony within the Canadian mosaic, as minorities attempt to gain influence for their position. As such, this model of curriculum development may be incompatible with a multicultural view of social education.

Minorities as Advisors

Some departments of education express an interest in sharing limited power in decision making with the ethnic authorities. The locus of power in decision making concerning the content and aims of ethnic studies still rests with the experts, although community personnel may be invited to cooperate with the department in an advisory fashion. Power is distributed

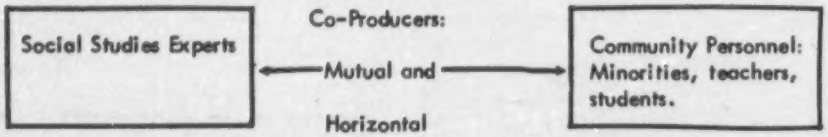
to selected representatives of minorities. For example, curricula for Native Indian and Metis students may be developed by a committee of experts, and then the completed program is presented to such organizations as the Metis Federation, the Indian Brotherhood, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and various friendship centers for their criticisms and appraisals. Although this may represent a small degree of decentralization of power in decision making, the locus of control in deciding what should be taught still rests with the experts. The role of minority group personnel is advisory and on an ad hoc basis.



A major interest underlying this model is that of legitimization: a degree of concensus achieved with selected ethnic representatives gives their approval to the program, and it is thereby legitimized as a reasonable interpretation of the minorities under study. However, it is important to note that this cooperation does not represent a shift in the decision making base for the role of ethnics is strictly advisory. It is a political move on the part of the experts to gain increased legitimization for their product. Once this cooperation results in legitimization, the curriculum is transmitted unidirectionally and hierarchically to the consumers.

Minorities as Co-Producers

Curricula of the Northwest Territories are based upon a recognized need for continuous program development through the mutual efforts of those affected at the local community and classroom levels. The locus of power is shared to some extent with teachers, students, community personnel, and minority groups. Although control ultimately lies with the department of education, there is an attempt to gain a broad base and degree of involvement in program development. The process is towards the devolution of power and the decentralization of control. Decision making is shared with all those who are interested in social education.



Since the locus of power is shared with community personnel, their relation with curriculum experts tends toward mutual influence and understanding rather than majority dominance and hierarchical decision making. Ends are not established totally apart from community interests, but emerge out of concerns and needs of both the department of education and the community. This means that an entire province of territory is not treated as a homogeneous group which should accept the same goals, values, and interpretations made by experts. Flexibility and freedom within curriculum development allows for and encourages heterogeneity because decision making is shared and has a broad base. The result is a curriculum which has meaning in local situations and which is relevant to the various ethnic experiences and views of Canadian issues. Interest underlying this model is in a social education which has meaning in local situations. Meaning comes when ethnic realities are portrayed honestly, when there

is opportunity for more than one interpretation of Canadian history and issues, and when local linguistic and cultural characteristics can be incorporated to some extent within programs. Cross-cultural understanding is facilitated because the various minorities involved within curriculum development must interact and understand one another to a greater extent than is possible under the other two models discussed. They must work together. In this manner the diversity of cultures and the various life-styles extant in Canadian society have a chance to be incorporated within programs which become multicultural in their orientation and content.

Just as Canadian multiculturalism is an ongoing and changing mosaic, so curricula are not to be thought of as finished products to be disseminated throughout classrooms. In varying degree programs must allow for continuous community input of local resources, ideas, and perspectives. Providing teachers and students with freedom and flexibility to accommodate local interests and conditions is a necessary provision to achieve equality of minority viewpoints. As such, students can explore their own linguistic, cultural, and community roots, as well as those of others, rather than just the dominant British-French frame of reference. Students are encouraged to reflect upon their own ethnicity from their own cultural perspective, rather than through the stereotypes and bias of the outsider's point of view. Instead of transmitting a static and unchanging heritage to all Canadians, programs which allow for local freedom and for diversity of input reflect the changes constantly occurring within our social mosaic.

CHAPTER IX

WHOSE CULTURE? WHOSE HERITAGE?

Examination of ethnic and multicultural studies in prescribed social studies curricula across Canada raises an important question for social educators. Whose culture and whose heritage is represented by Social Studies?

There is an overwhelming British and French cultural perspective within most curricula. Other ethnic groups are interpreted in terms of one or both of these dominant groups. Typically, the choice of ethnic groups to be studied does not reflect the character of Canadian multiculturalism. At the elementary school level there is almost exclusive coverage of Native Indians, Inuit and small yet visible minorities as the Hutterite or Doukhobor; at the secondary school level, concern is focused on those two groups who represent the majority. Numerically significant groups such as the German, Italian, and Unkrainian are neglected. From examining curricula, one would conclude that Canada's population consists primarily of Indians, Inuit, British, and French. Those minorities which represent one-quarter of Canada's population are conspicuously absent.

The notions of culture and ethnicity are defined generally at the elementary school level as material things, with an emphasis upon that which is unique, static, and different. Ethnic studies thus become like a trip to a museum or an art gallery. At the secondary school level these notions may be conceived historically as heritage. There is little emphasis upon cognitive culture or contemporary cultural change. Students are encouraged to look at material details relative to ethnic groups or to romanticize about a heritage more often than to grapple with such issues as pluralism, cross-cultural communication, governmental policy, language and aboriginal rights, and value conflicts. This emphasis upon material culture and heritage

tends to perpetuate an implicit hierarchy of ethnic groups. Our Canadian 'heritage' becomes exclusively British and French, with the host of minorities portrayed as marginal actors on the stage of history. Cross-ethnic relations may be placed within a conflict framework in which the minorities are the problems for the majority culture.

Curriculum developers appear to be culturally monopolarized at times, developing programs from their own taken for granted perspectives. As such, students are not encouraged to see from more than one cultural perspective, and their frame of reference becomes ethnocentric and paternalistic when interpreting those who are ethnically different. Little attempt has been made to involve representatives of ethnic groups in program development, nor has there been much encouragement for local community involvement in jointly developing such programs with governmental and university personnel. Ethnic issues within curricula have been defined and interpreted by educational experts for students. Flexibility and freedom to incorporate community concerns are not evident generally. Curricula are treated as completed products which pass unidirectionally from the producers to the consumers. The cultural biases, stereotypes and perspectives of the group who has the power to control program development thereby become legitimized as the proper interpretive schemes for Canadian history and for contemporary issues.

Curricula provide virtually no suggestions for preservice and inservice training of personnel using, preparing to use, or assisting in the developing of ethnic and multicultural studies. Methods and suggestions concerning how teachers and students are to understand the values and outlooks of other groups are essential in order to control cultural bias and circumvent the fallacy of interpreting and judging another value and belief system in terms of the standards of one taken for granted life-style. Clearly stated rationales concerning the relation of multiculturalism to social education are rarely evident, and though terms such as pluralism and

mosaic are introduced, programs do not reflect in general the meaning of these terms within the prescribed content and activities.

Underlying the generalizations of this book is a call for ethnic studies which are truly ethnic in name, content, and perspective. This concern is important because of possible consequences which images and stereotypes in Social Studies have for students. If people act on the basis of their beliefs, then what students believe concerning multiculturalism, about certain groups, and about their own ethnic background is significant because of the human capacity for self-fulfilling outlooks. The perspectives they hold of themselves and of their society contribute to what they become, to the society they construct and live within, and to the manner in which they treat and interpret their neighbor. Only by examining the underlying and unquestioned perspectives they adopt can students, teachers, and curriculum developers reflect critically upon the nature of their own biases and liberate themselves from the encapsulating power of their own ideas and prejudices. Whose culture and whose heritage are portrayed in social education, as well as how these are portrayed, are questions of central importance because of their implications for educational practice and for interpretations of fellow Canadians within Social Studies curricula.

A global and impressionistic picture of patterns and trends in ethnic studies within the curricula of social education can be made in summary for the 1974-75 school year. The aspects of multiculturalism examined within programs tend to form two general clusters as shown in the following table.

TWO CLUSTERS EVIDENT IN THE ETHNIC STUDIES OF SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULA

	Cluster #1	Cluster #2
Ethnic Representation (Chapters I and II)	Lesser Ethnic Diversity within Curricula	Greater Ethnic Diversity within Curricula
Perspective (Chapter III)	Monocultural or Bicultural Perspective	Multicultural Perspective
View of Minorities (Chapter IV)	Marginal Canadians	Linguistic and Cultural Equality
Approach to People (Chapter V)	Museum/Heritage Approach	Discipline/Issues Approach
Concept of Culture (Chapter VI)	Culture as Material	Culture as Cognitive
Rationale (Chapter VII)	Increasing Integration; Lack of Rationales	Maintaining Diversity
Curriculum Development (Chapter VIII)	Minorities as Consumers or Advisors	Minorities as Co-Producers

FOOTNOTE

[1] Curricula have been developed in cooperation with various agencies such as federal and provincial governments, universities, and ethnic groups. Projects at Morley, Hobbema, and Blue Quills are illustrative within Alberta of community based development of curriculum material which reflects ethnic viewpoints more honestly. For examples of local development of resource material related to ethnic studies, see the following: T. Aoki, "Toward Devolution in the Control of Education on a Native Reserve in Alberta", Council of Anthropology and Education Newsletter, V. IV, November, 1973; P. Robinson, "Curriculum Development", Canadian Native Schools in Transition : Yearbook of Canadian Society for the Study of Education, V. I, 1974; J. Wyatt, "Self-Determination Through Education : A Canadian Indian Example", Phi Delta Kappan, V. 58, January, 1977.

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